

INCOMING AIRGRAM

Department of State

N0017

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AIR

FROM: Ambassador BONE

TO: Department of State

NO: 0-571

Ref: Department's Airgram 0-432

SUB: UHNER BERLIN, LONDON, MOSCOW, PARIS,

PARIS PASS UHNER THURSTON AND WHEAT

Although "identification procedures" outlined reference airgram might not repeat not create legal or even practical difficulties, it seems to us they raise basic political questions with which we have to come to grips.

If our assumption is correct, formula spelled out in airgram intended make our public position on question Berlin access seem most reasonable and, at same time, forestall any action on our part that might ring of, or lead to de facto recognition GDR.

However, after careful consideration proposals, we doubt they really consistent with these objectives. In our view, they go considerably beyond mere "identification procedures". They call for recognition on our part of right of GDR (regardless of any agent theory) to control our movements to and from Berlin for as long as GDR is disposed permit this kind traffic continue.

From political standpoint, we unable see fundamental distinction between consequences flowing from our handling GDR authorities movement orders which we ourselves have stamped, or orders that they can stamp. We feel critical point is reached at moment when we actually hand over identification documents to GDR control officials. Despite any reservations which we might have, this action, we believe, would be tantamount to submitting our access to Berlin to GDR control. At this point, we in effect begin dealing with GDR. After that, we can only wait for most harassing action against our movements. Given our past experience with Soviets and obvious Communist purposes in fomenting present Berlin crisis, odds are that even if GDR accepted this formula at outset, it would, at appropriate time, attempt impose like stringent controls and further our traffic and take whatever action it can to force us out of Berlin.

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If this is way situation develops, we feel certain that procedure suggested above will surely postpone necessity facing up to basic problem again and to alternatives accepting increasingly greater degree GDR control (GDR stamping documents, inspecting vehicles, etc.) or refusing this, consider turning our vehicles back or use of force. And having in first instance made basic political concession of accepting GDR control over our traffic, question arises to whom could we protest and on what grounds? Moreover, questionable whether we could marshal support in any quarter for use of force.

In other words, our difficulty with proposals is that they propose solution that is more illusory than real; they shy away from basic question of acceptance or rejection GDR controls which we have to face up to; and they seem to back us into position which until now we have insisted was unacceptable.

BRUCE

NOTE: FOL: William R. Tyler

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